### THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

National Intelligence Council

18 February 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM

: Henry S. Rowen

SUBJECT

: Plans for NSSD 1-82 US National Security Strategy

- 1. Judge Clark has held the first meeting of an Interagency Review Group to produce a US National Security Strategy Document (NSSD 1-82). This group is being chaired by Tom Reed. Present were Ikle, Burt, Wolfowitz, Bailey and myself plus NSC staffers.
- 2. The schedule and a first cut of the outline are attached. Note that the due date to the NSC is 15 April.
- 3. Clark and Reed asserted that the President wants a process that brings out differing views with options rather than a bland consensus document. They don't want a lot of pointless options and they want a short paper in the end (not a PRM-10 like opus).
- 4. The main issue we discussed was whether it made sense to limit this effort to dealing only with the military component of US security strategy to the neglect of the economic, information, and other components of a strategy. Fred Ikle and I argued that parallel work should be started soon on these other components, but we were overruled.
- 5. Reed wants to hold tight the word that this action is underway to try to avoid stories to the effect that the US is undertaking a basic review of its security strategy, etc.
- 6. Our part, as shown in the outline (jointly with DoD), is "the impact of military threats." Bob Gates and I are discussing how best to manage this with the DoD and internally and will make a recommendation to you.

HIR. Henry S. Rowen

CC: ED DDI

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NSC review completed.

SUBJECT: Plans for NSSD 1-82 US National Security Strategy (DDI #1403-82)

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### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

February 18, 1982

SUBJECT: Interagency Review Group

Meeting, February 18, 1982

NSSD 1-82

FROM: Tom Reed 972

- 1. Attached are following NSSD 1-82 items provided for your use:
  - Draft Study Plan
  - Draft Study Plan Chart
  - Draft Milestone Schedule C.
  - D. Draft Outline, Parts I-III
- Just a reminder: All matters relating 2. to NSSD 1-82 must be closely held.





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### NSSD 1-82 DRAFT MILESTONE SCHEDULE

| February 18          | Initial Interagency Review Group Meeting  |
|----------------------|---|
| February 23          | Advise Chairman of Sub-Group chairs, comment on Schedule  |
| February 19-26       | Review of outline (Parts I-III), development of work plans  |
| February 26          | Interagency Review Group Meeting: Discussion of Part I, Approval of Outline, Parts II-III, discussion of work plans |
| February 26-March 3  | Preparation and submission of Part I issue papers   |
| March 3              | Interagency Review Group Meeting: Discussion of Part I issues   |
| March 3-8            | Resolution of issues, Part I  |
| February 26-March 13 | Drafting of Study segments, Part III,<br>Sections A, B, C; Preparation and submission<br>of issue papers            |
| March 13             | Interagency Review Group Meeting: Discussion of Part III, Sections A, $\overline{B}$ , $\overline{C}$               |
| March 15-23          | Resolution of issues, Part III, Sections A, B,  |
| February 26-April 2  | Drafting of Study segments, Part III,<br>Sections D-G; Preparation and submission of<br>issue papers                |
| April 2              | Interagency Review Group Meeting: Discussion of Part III, Sections D-G  |
| April 3-7            | Resolution of Issues, Part III, Sections D-G  |
| April 7-12           | Preparation of NSC issue papers   |
| April 15             | NSC Meeting: Consideration of issues  |
|                      |   |

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### NSSD 1-82 DRAFT STUDY PLAN

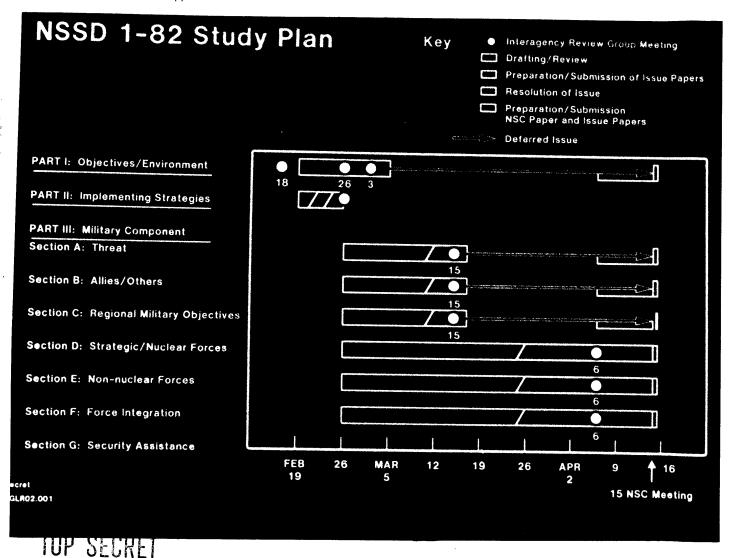
| Seg         | ment   | Sub-Working Gp<br>Chair/Vice-Chair | Lead Agency<br>Chair/Vice-Chair         | Review<br>Gp Mtg  | Issue<br>Resolution |
|-------------|--|------------------------------------|---|-------------------|---------------------|
| Part I      | National Objectives/<br>International Environment        | NSC Staff<br>C. Lord               | NSC Staff<br>C. Lord                    | Mar 3             | Mar 8               |
| Part II     | Implementing Strategies                                  | NSC Staff<br>C. Lord               | NSC Staff<br>C. Lord                    | Mar 3             | Mar 8               |
| Part III    | Military Component of U.S.<br>National Security Strategy | DOD - JKIR .<br>/A. Myer           |   |                   |                     |
| Section     | A: Impact of military threats                            |                                    | CIA/DOD<br>/M. Berta                    | Mar 13            | Mar 23              |
| . Section   | B: Role of Allies and others                             |                                    | State /J. Rentschler                    | Mar 13            | Mar 23              |
| Section     | C: Regional military objectives                          |                                    | DOD /C. Shoemaker                       | Mar 13            | Mar 23              |
| Section I   | Strategic and other nuclear forces                       |                                    | DOD /R. Linhard                         | Apr 2             | Apr 7               |
| Section I   | E: Non-nuclear forces                                    |                                    | DOD /A. Myer                            | Apr 2             | Apr 7               |
| Section F   | Force Integration  |                                    | DOD /C. Shoemaker                       | Apr 2             | Apr 7               |
| Section G   | : Security Assistance                                    |                                    |   | Apr 2             | Apr 7               |
| NSC Meeting |  | ••••••                             | • | • • • • • • • • • | Apr 15              |

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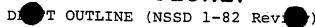
Classified & Extended by William P. Clark Reason for Extension: NSC 1.13(e)

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### US National Security Strategy

### Part I

### National Objectives and the International Environment

- A. Broad objectives of US National Security Policy
  - To preserve the political identity and institutions of the US as embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.
  - To protect the US -- its national territory, citizenry, military forces and assets abroad -- from military or paramilitary attack.
  - -- To preserve the economic well-being of the US through assured access to foreign markets and resources.
  - -- To preserve and strengthen an international order compatible with fundamental American interests.
  - To promote the growth of freedom, justice, and
     peaceful economic development throughout the world.
- B. The International Environment

US national security policy will be guided by the following assessment of the current international situation and trends:

- -- The decade of the 1980s will pose the greatest challenge to the survival and well-being of the nation since World War II;
- The Soviet Union is and will remain for the foreseeable future the most formidable threat to the United States and to American interests globally;
- The growth of Soviet military power over the last decade has called into question the ability of the US and its allies to deter Soviet attack across the spectrum of conflict;
- Building on their strengthened military position, the Soviets have developed a sophisticated political/military strategy combining selective use of their own and proxy military and security forces, manipulation of terrorist and subversive organizations, diplomatic and arms control initiatives, and a massive propaganda and disinformation effort designed to extend Soviet influence in strategic regions of the non-Western world and to undermine and neutralize the Atlantic Alliance;

- -- At the same time, the Soviet Union has important vulnerabilities: Soviet bloc economies continue to perform poorly, the appeal of Communist ideology is extinct or decreasing throughout much of the world, and developments in Afghanistan and Poland have dramatically underlined the constraints on Soviet power;
- In the strategic oil-producing areas of the Middle East, the rise of militant nationalist and religious movements, together with an expanded Soviet presence, poses a critical threat to Western economic interests;
- In Asia, the People's Republic of China remains fundamentally hostile to the USSR and its Vietnamese proxy and appears to have begun an ideological evolution away from Soviet Communism; at the same time, in view of the uncertainties of its domestic politics and its great military potential, the PRC must be regarded as a potential long-term threat to the interests of the US and its Asian allies;
- -- Acceleration of efforts by several nations, most notably Pakistan, to acquire nuclear weapons threatens the viability of the international non-proliferation regime, with potentially serious consequences for regional stability as well as the security of the US.
- C. Operational Objectives of US National Security Policy
  - 1. Global Objectives

US national security policy will be guided by the following operational objectives globally:

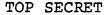
- To deter military attack by the USSR against the US and its allies across the spectrum of conflict;
- To defend the US and its allies against Soviet attack should deterrence fail;
- -- To extend the influence of the US abroad so as to support an international order compatible with US vital interests;
- -- To ensure US fair access to foreign markets and to ensure fair access for the US and its allies to foreign energy and mineral resources.

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- -- To defeat Soviet efforts to use military force for the purposes of intimidating or coercing the US, its allies, or important third countries;
- -- To defeat Soviet efforts to increase its influence through the use of proxy, terrorist and subversive forces as well as through diplomacy, economic pressure, political action and propaganda;
- -- To contribute to an eventual breakup of the Soviet Empire by encouraging liberalizing and nationalist tendencies within it;
- -- To discourage further proliferation of nuclear weapons.
- 2. Regional Objectives

US National security policy will be guided by the following operational objectives in each region:

- -- In Europe, to preserve the NATO alliance, while strengthening NATO capabilities and adjusting NATO strategy as necessary to meet the threat posed by dramatically improved Soviet/Warsaw Pact forces; to counter West European political trends that inhibit effective US and allied action in this direction; to weaken the Warsaw Pact internally by encouraging liberalizing and nationalist tendencies in Poland and other East European states;
- -- In the Soviet Union, to bring about a re-ordering of the objectives of the regime. In particular, to force the Soviet Union to bear the brunt of the shortcomings of its economic and political system, and to induce the regime to:
  - assign a higher priority to domestic considerations;
  - cease the support of proxy wars, international terrorism, and subversive groups abroad;
  - of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe internally and in their relations with Eastern Europe.
- -- In the Western Hemisphere, to defeat efforts to project Soviet/Cuban military power and influence in Central America and the Caribbean, and to eliminate Cuba as a base for mounting a Soviet strategic threat to the security of the Hemisphere;



- In Africa, to defeat Libyan-sponsored subversive and terrorist activities; to eliminate or increase the costs of the Soviet/Cuban presence in Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique; to establish a US presence supportive of Western interests in the Middle East and Southwest Asia:
- In Asia, to preserve our existing alliances, while substantially strengthening Japan's self-defense capabilities to meet the threat posed by improved Soviet forces in the Far East and the increased Soviet presence in Southeast Asia; to deter aggression by North Korea and Vietnam and eliminate or increase the costs of the Vietnamese presence in Laos and Kampuchea; to preserve and deepen the Sino-Soviet split and strengthen the PRC's capability to resist Soviet invasion, while at the same time minimizing its ability to threaten the US and its allies over the long term;
- In the Middle East and Southwest Asia, to ensure Western access to Persian Gulf oil; to preserve the independence of all states in the region and strengthen their ability to resist aggression or subversion by a regional or extra-regional power or movement; to eliminate the Soviet presence in Afghanistan or increase its costs to the USSR.

#### Part II

#### Implementing Strategies

The overall national objectives of the United States are to be implemented through an interlocking set of strategies that principally include the following:

- diplomatic;
- information;
- economic;
- military.

This study will consider the military component only. The other components of national strategy as outlined above will be the subject of companion studies in the near future. Additional studies will also be undertaken concerning the role of intelligence, covert operations, and arms control in supporting the implementing strategies.

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### Part III

### Military Component of US National Security Strategy

## Section A: Impact of military threats on US National Security Strategy

Purpose and Scope: To assess the impact of existing and projected military threats on the ability of the United States to execute successfully its national security strategy. The appraisal will include Soviet military power, the Soviet bloc, Soviet surrogates, and other military threats to US national security interests.

Outline. This section should include both current and projected military capabilities and influence of Soviet, Soviet bloc, surrogate and other states and forces. Specific issues to be addressed should include:

- Soviet military power and the Soviet bloc
  - -- Objectives
  - -- Doctrine
  - -- Strategy
  - -- Forces
  - -- Military Assistance Programs
- Other military threats
  - -- Surrogate forces
  - -- Terrorism
  - -- Others

### Section B: Role of Allies and Others

Purpose and Scope: To assess the degree to which the United States can rely on support from other countries. The appraisal should examine the national security interests of our Allies and friends with those of the United States, determine areas of compatibility, and assess resulting implications for the allocation of US defense resources.

<u>Outline</u>: This section should consider national interests and objectives, economic and political imperatives, and military capabilities. Specific issues to be addressed should include:

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- Burden-sharing: By whom, how much, in what areas?
- Basing and access: Implications for US projection of power
- Host nation support: Prospects in the year ahead
- Alliances and security cooperation: Effect of compatible and divergent interests on coalition building and a strategic division of labor.
- o The case of the PRC.

### Section C: Regional Military Objectives

Purpose and Scope: To identify regional military objectives. Based upon the broader regional objectives contained in part I, this section will develop those military objectives necessary to provide focus for operational strategies (both current and projected).

Outline: Region-by-region analysis.

### Section D: Strategic and Other Nuclear Forces

Purpose and Scope: To establish hational-level nuclear force objectives, policies, and strategies. Building on existing Administration policy, this section will examine force application and force development aspects of our strategic TRIAD and other nuclear forces. Where existing and programmed capabilities are insufficient to achieve required objective conditions, the impact of resource limitations will be assessed and priorities established.

#### Outline:

- Force application: (the use of nuclear forces in peacetime and war to achieve specific political objectives)
  - °° Strategic Forces
    - -- Strategic nuclear objectives
    - -- Strategic nuclear policies: deterrence, linkage to Alliance strategies, warfighting, conflict termination.
    - -- Nuclear strategy: targeting policy, nature of counterforce capability, strategic defense, continuity of government, secure reserve force, level of required assured destruction capability, crisis stability, recovery capability.

- oo Other Nuclear Forces
- -- objectives
- -- policies
- -- strategies
- Force development
  - °° Strategic Forces
    - -- Force development objectives.
    - Force development policies: modernization, readiness, C<sup>3</sup>I, R&D, role of Allies, continuity of government, early warning, space.
    - -- Force development strategy: priorities, connectivity, discreteness of options, day-to-day generation standards.
  - °° Other Nuclear Forces
    - -- objectives
    - -- policies
    - -- strategies
- Arms Control Considerations: roles and principles

#### Section E: Non-Nuclear Forces

Purpose and Scope: To establish national-level objectives, policies and strategies for all US military forces, exclusive of nuclear forces, required to achieve both regional and national objectives during peacetime and in the event of war. Where existing and programmed capabilities are insufficient to achieve required objective conditions, the impact of resource limitations will be assessed and priorities established.

Outline: This section is intended to provide focus for operational strategies (both day-to-day and contingency) and to serve as a basis for the determination of required and interim force levels and characteristics.

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- Force application
  - -- Objectives
  - -- Policies (regional priorities and extra-regional linkages, forward deployments, crisis management, command and control, and special operations)
  - -- Strategy: peacetime (presence, infrastructure development, priority of effort, levels of reliance on Allies and friends); wartime (priorities, phasing, desired outcomes, coalition strategy); special operations (counterterrorism, support to low intensity conflicts)
- Force development
  - -- Objectives
  - Policies: to include priorities, role of reserve forces, mobilization, industrial base, sustainability, force structure, force expansion, reinforcement, strategic mobility, readiness, modernization, RSI.
  - -- Strategy: development of procurement strategy, risk assessments with procurement adjustments, force allocation strategy.
- Arms Control considerations: roles and principles

### Section F: Force Integration

Purpose and Scope: To outline employment concepts, doctrine and procedures so that all types of forces are integrated in a synergistic manner and support overall political objectives as their basic rationale. This section will identify specific issues which must be addressed in order to ensure successful force integration and will examine integration issues vertically (strategic forces through unconventional warfare forces) and horizontally (across services).

### Outline

- 1. Concepts of integration
  - a. Current national guidance
  - b. Unified Commands

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- 2. Issues
  - a.  $C^3I$
  - b. Operational trade-offs between various types of forces--where should we be placing our emphasis
  - Organization of budget documents and other administrative aspects needed to ensure force integration

### Section G: Security Assistance

<u>Purpose and Scope</u>: To determine the role of the security assistance program in the US national security strategy. The study should include regional perspectives, but individual country assessments are beyond the scope of this study.

Outline: This section will analyze security assistance in terms of its contribution to US national security strategy and will propose specific actions, in priority order, that could be taken to make the program more effective in worldwide and regional terms.

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